2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Presbyterians preach against divorce but place no absolute ban upon it, as does the Roman Catholic church. For a Catholic, remarriage following divorce involves the risk of denial of communion or even excommunication. This is a serious deterrent to good Catholics, who are fairly numerous in the eastern districts.

CHILDREN IN THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Marriage without children is almost incomprehensible to the Papago. They invariably say, "Every girl wants to get married and have children." Contraceptive measures are so rare as to be almost unheard of, and the occasional woman who says she does not want children is severely criticized. Yet there are no strong sanctions against abortion. The Papago strongly disapprove, but they are not shocked into action, and there are no penalties except criticism; they feel that no one else can rightfully interfere with what is really the concern of a woman and her family. On the other hand, if a man and wife have no children for some time, there is speculation by others, and the couple may visit a medicine man to determine the cause.

If Papago are asked why they welcome children, they are likely to say, "They help us with the work. They take care of us when we are old." Neither of these reasons should be underestimated. Many hands make somewhat lighter the arduous work of wringing a living from the desert, and an assured source of help in old age is especially important in a society where savings accounts and insurance are virtually nonexistent, if not impossible, because cash incomes are too low. Then, too, children are welcomed by their parents because they bring improved social status.

Undoubtedly bound up with all these factors, but potent in itself, is the sheer affection that the Papago have for their children. Open display of love is exceedingly rare between adults, but they fondle and make much of a child. Parents do not like to be separated from their children, and the usually reserved Papago man will allow himself to express such joy and affection at being reunited with his children as he would never show for his wife in public. Not only parents but all relatives pet little children. When small, children are treated as very dear and irresponsible beings; they are seldom struck or otherwise punished. But "when they know better," they are treated as individuals with growing responsibilities. They must learn to act in accordance with Papago ideals, to be obedient at all times, not to "talk back" to their elders, and to be unobtrusive when the elders are busy. But at no time are they set apart in a separate world; the activities of adults are open to them when they are ready and able to participate.